

Gist of Conversation between Premier
HIRANUMA and Wang.

On June 10, the 14th year of Showa. (1939)

From 8:00 A.M.

To 9:30 A.M.

WANG: I deem it a great honor to meet you, and to talk with you to-day.

HIRANUMA: I appreciate your efforts for the settlement of Sino-Japanese problems. We have been reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal. From time immemorial the ultimate object of the Emperors was to maintain peace among human beings with the Way of Benevolence. Our nation has valued highly the so-called military spirit, but it is only for realizing this ultimate object of the Emperors, and it is quite different from the military spirit which is prevailing among the people of the European powers. Foreigners have often misunderstood the meaning of this word, taking it for a means of aggression. This is only because they can not understand the great spirit of the Way of Benevolence. I believe that we must make efforts to realize that ultimate object, as we are in a post in which we are responsible in assisting the Emperor. Further, I believe that we must bring about perpetual peace in East Asia, especially in the relations

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between Japan and China, in order to maintain peace among all peoples of the world. For that end, the influential persons of both countries have to cooperate and make their best efforts to realize it. I offer my respects to you who have risen up at this incident for the cause of Japan and China, and I hope for your further efforts.

W; I have perfectly understood the spirit of the Japanese Emperors. Now I will tell you about the recent psychology of the Chinese for your information. As for the Communist party and the persons who have connections with that party, we have no way but to throw them down to the ground in order to establish peace between Japan and China, as they have set both China and East Asia at naught, and have acted as a tool of the Comintern. But most of the Chinese, except them, at heart are longing for peace and, have recognized Japan, which has achieved its position with the effort of more than half a century, as their senior nation in East Asia, and believe that peace can not be secured in East Asia Without the cooperation of Japan with China. But they can not speak so in public, because there are still many people who do not know the true intention of Japan as has been mentioned by you just now. I have advised peace to CHANG Kai-shek for several dozens of times, but he used to reply briefly, 'If we conclude peace with Japan, the independence and freedom of China will be lost throughout the territory. But as long as we continue resistance, China

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will survive in a territory, which, even if it be small, is not under the occupation of Japan.' This represents not only CHIANG's conclusion, but also that of almost all the Chinese. Most of the Chinese believe still to-day that Japan will not give up her ambition to dominate China, since Japan has made sacrifices of such vast military power and money to the war.

It can not be denied that the declarations which have been made several times by the Japanese Government gave a somewhat bright perspective to the Chinese people. But they are entertaining misgivings regarding the actual realization of their hope. Such an atmosphere can be inferred even from letters from Chungking and other places. This fact that the true intention of Japan has not penetrated into the interior of China may be due to some defect in the way of advertisement. I believe the efforts of the intelligent public of both countries will be necessary for improving it. The Communists, however, taking advantage of this misgiving of the Chinese against Japan, are propagandizing that those who speak of peace are traitors, and they are oppressing those persons. On account of that, it is very difficult for a Chinese to speak of peace even in foreign countries as well as in home land.

H: The European powers, in their international relations, have usually struggled for their own interests. The Peace Treaty of Versailles after the First World War, too, was unreasonably based upon the reckoning of interests of each power. And the League of Nations also was nothing but a machine

in which they insist upon their own interests and which already contained the germ of a Second World War. In our East Asia, we must not follow this bad example.. We must establish mutual relations based on justice, and secure eternal peace between us in order to avoid the recurrence of such incidents.

Japan will not cease her action until her ultimate object to establish perpetual peace in East Asia is achieved. I declare that Japan will continue her action until the whole Chinese people understand the true intention of Japan. Especially as regards the Communist party, they are the common enemy of human beings, as they are disturbing the peace of the whole world. We cannot allow their existence in the World. We must, at least, drive them away from East Asia. If they challenge us with thoughts, we will fight with thoughts. But in the present situation, they cannot be driven without arms. And Japan has the steady determination to drive them away, even if she has to resort to war for that end. I believe that CHIANG Kai-shek understands the true intention of Japan. But now that he has adopted the pro-Comintern policy, the Japanese can not rely upon him. We can not countenance him as long as he does not break off with the Communists.

Further, Japan and China need close mutual cooperation in order to promote their economy. Then with a view to pursuing

these common objects---that is, the Anti-Communist policy and cooperation in the field of economy, it is necessary for both countries to establish a powerful central government in China. I believe that you will exert yourself to the utmost for that end, and I hope for your success while we will give you full assistance for it. In short I hope you will make every effort to lead China to the cooperation with Japan in establishing a new East Asia, making China throw away its pro-communist policy. As regards the actual procedure concerning the establishment of the central government, I advise you to confer with the War and Navy Ministers and other Ministers concerned.

W: Powerless as I am, I will make every effort to establish the central government. And I am very obliged that you have given me the opportunity to talk with the Ministers concerned regarding the progress of the actual procedure. Only I have a few things which I want to tell you now. I think that I understand your policy, as I sent the other day IAO Jsungwu in order to deliver my opinion to you, and to know your opinion as well as that of other authorities in the Japanese Government. Firstly, it was expected at that time, that if CHIANG Kai-shek would alter his policy, we might cooperate with him to bring about peace. But now this is quite impossible.

Secondly, it was once proposed that we should tide over the present situation, by, rallying all groups outside the Kuomintang, and I replied at that time that I was ready to make efforts, if need be. But now it seems very difficult for us to cope with the present situation as a result of the influence of other parties than the Kuomintang. Thirdly, I determined once that I might resign my office, if CHIANG would do so in order to settle the present situation, and I might go abroad, if CHIANG would do so. But CHIANG refused this, and resented it. So I had no way but to go ahead on my own responsibility.

I think it is best to reorganize the National Government by uniting all other parties with the Kuomintang and thus to make it a government which, will give up its old Anti-Japanese-Pro-Communist policy. Because, if we retain the original form of the National Government, it will serve the purpose of preventing the Chinese nation from feeling that their country has surrendered to Japanese oppression and of rallying a large number of our comrades from Chungking circles. At the time KAO Tsung-wu was despatched to Japan by us the Japanese Government opined that Three Principles of the People to which the Kuomintang adhered should be revived, getting rid of the relation with communism. I think such an opinion of the Japanese Government is really reasonable; SUN Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People is a thing to be clearly distinguished

from communism. We will hereafter exert ourselves to the utmost so as to make this doctrine develop along its true lines

I approve of devising such a measure as changing the Anti-Japanese-Pro-Communist policy by establishing a central government through the resurrection of the Kuomintang combined with every other party and group, following the new banner of the revived Three Principles of the People, entirely broken away from communism. The Chungking Government is no longer to be called the central Government. But if it changes its present attitude, Japan will be ready to tolerate it from her benevolent viewpoint. Nevertheless, the Chungking Government can not be free from responsibility as the author of the present Incident. Then it is a matter of course that CHIANG Kai-shek should retire from his post. But even in case of CHIANG's retirement I hope you will hold all responsibility for converting the Chungking circles to the revived Three Principles of the People. In a word I earnestly hope that you will endeavor to complete this task entirely on your own responsibility.

WANG. I cannot say how positively how many persons I can call to my banner from Chungking and other quarters when I arouse myself for the sake of the country. But as far as the Kuomintang is concerned, as I have shared my fate with the Kuomintang these scores of years, I assert that I will take the responsibility of making the Kuomintang change its past mistaken

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policy and become a power which will contribute to the realization of peace in the Orient.

HIRANUMA, I hope you will make a strenuous effort for the accomplishment of this.

WANG, I studied in Tokyo thirty-four years ago, and since I read a lecture on law you published when you were a judicial official I have had deep reverence and affection for you. It is with great pleasure that I was unexpectedly given the honour of seeing you.

CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE AND AUTHENTICITY

I, HAYASHI, Kaoru, who occupy the post of the Chief of the Archives Section of the Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese, consisting of 6 pages and entitled "Gist of Conversation between Premier HIRANUMA and Wang" is an exact and authorized copy of an official document in the custody of Japanese Government (Foreign Office).

certified at Tokyo,
on this 12th day of March, 1947

HAYASHI Kaoru
(seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

at the same place,

on this same date

Witness: URABE Katsuma
(seal)

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TRANSLATION CERTIFICATE

I, William E. Clarke, of the Defense Language Branch,
hereby certify that the foregoing translation described in
the above certificate is, to the best of my knowledge and
belief, a correct translation and is as near as possible to the
meaning of the original document.

/s/ William E. Clarke

Tokyo, Japan

Date 8th May 1947

平沼首相汪會談要領

昭和十四年六月十日

自午前八時
至同九時半

汪平、

今日拜顔ノ上、御指教ヲ仰ク機會ヲ得タルコトハ光榮ニ堪ヘズ
貴下ガ日支問題ノタメ努力セラレ居ルハ敬服スル所ナリ 御承知
ノ通り日本ハ上ニ萬世一系ノ皇室ヲ戴キ皇室ノ御趣旨ハ仁愛ノ道ヲ
以テ人類ノ平和ヲ維持スルコト古^来一貫セル所ナリ 而シテ日本ハ
武ヲ尊フ所謂尙武ノ國ナルカ武ハ此ノ御趣旨ヲ達成スルタメノモノ
ニシテ此ノ歐米諸國ノ武力トハ全ク異ナルモノナリ 外國人ハ往々
此ノ義ヲ解セズ 日本ノ武ヲ以テ侵略ノ具ナリト看倣スモノアルハ
全ク此ノ仁愛ノ大精神ヲ知ラザルモノト謂フベシ 吾々ハ皇室ヲ輔
翼スル責任ノ地位ニアルヲ以テ右御趣旨ノ實現ニ努力セザルベカラ
ズ 而シテ世界人類ノ平和ノ維持ヲ圖ルニハ先ヅ東洋殊ニ日支兩國
ノ間ニ永遠ノ平和ヲ招來セザルベカラズ 之ガタメニハ兩國ノ有力
者互ニ協力シテ之ガ實現ニ邁進セザルベカラズ 貴下ガ今回ノ事變

ニ際シ日支兩國ノタメ奮起セラレタルニ對シ敬意ヲ表シ其ノ努力ヲ
 希フ次第ナリ

汪、

日本ノ皇室ノ御精神ノ程ハ能ク瞭解セリ 就テハ御參考迄ニ支那
 現在ノ國民ノ心理ニ付キオ話致スベシ 現在日支平和ノ問題ニ關シ
 共產黨及共產黨ト連絡アル一部ノ者ハ其ノ眼中支那ナク又東洋ナク
 全ク「コミンテルン」ノ走狗トシテ活動シ居ルモノニシテ彼等ニ對
 シテハ奈何トモスヘキナシ 即チ最後迄徹底的ニ打倒スルノ途ヲ取
 ルノ外ナシ 其ノ他大部分ノ國民ニ至ツテハ何レモ心中和平ヲ欲シ
 日本ガ數十年來ノ努力ニ依リ築キ上ケタル東洋先進國トシテノ地位
 ヲ認識シ日支兩國提携スルニ非サレハ東洋ノ平和ヲ確保スルニ途ナ
 キコトモ亦信シ居ルカ唯此ノ和平ヲ口ニ出シ得サル事情ニアリ夫レ
 ハ今回大部分ノモノカ唯今オ話ノ如キ日本ノ眞意ヲ瞭解シ居ラサル
 カタメナリ 自分ハ曾テ蔣介石ニ對シ數十回ニ亘リ和平ヲ勸メタル
 モ彼ハ日本ト和スレハ支那全土ノ獨立ト自由ハ失ハルヘシ抗戰ヲ繼
 續スレハ假令一小部分ト雖トモ占領セラレサル地域タケハ完全ナル
 支那國土トシテ存在スヘシトノ簡單ナル答ヘヲナスヲ常トセリ 是

平、

レハ獨リ蔣ノ考ノミナラス大部分ノ者ノ考フル所ヲ代表シ居ルモノト見サルヘカラス 即チ今日支那ノ民衆ハ依然トシテ日本カ是レ丈ケノ武力ト財力トヲ犠牲ニシタル以上恐ラク支那支配ノ慾望ヲ捨ツルコトナカルヘシト觀察シ居ルナリ 日本政府カ數回ニ亙リ發セル聲明ニ依リ尠ナカラサル希望ヲ支那國民ニアタヘタルコトハ否ムヘカラサル事實ナルモ右希望カ果シテ具體的ニ實現セラル、ヤ否ヤヲ危惧シ居リ斯カル氣持ハ重慶其他ノ方面ノ者ヨリノ通信ニ依ルモ窺フニ難カラス此ノ日本ノ眞意カ内地ニ屆キ居ラサルコトハ宣傳方面ニ於テ缺クル所アルニ依ルヘク兩國識者今後ノ努力ニ俟タサルヲ得サル譯ナルカ共產黨ハ此ノ支那國民ノ日本ニ對スル危惧ノ念ヲ利用シ和平ヲ言フモノハ賣國奴ナリト宣傳シテ壓迫ノ手ヲ加ヘ是レカタメ今日支那内地ニ於テ和平ヲ言フ事極メテ困難ナルノミナラス海外ニ於ケル支那人スラ容易ニ和平ヲ言フ得サル狀況ナリ

歐洲ノ國際關係ハ總テ利害ニ基キ利害ニ依リ相爭フヲ常トス彼ノ歐洲大戰ノ「ベルサイユ」平和條約ノ如キモ要スルニ各國ノ利害ノ打算ヲ基礎トセル不合理ナルモノナリ 其ノ結果生レタル國際聯盟

ノ如キモ要スルニ自己ノ利益ヲ主張シ合フ會議タルニ過ギズ既ニ早
ク第二次世界戦争ヲ勃發セシムル危險ヲ含ムモノナリ我カ東洋ニ於
テハ決シテ此ノ歐洲ノ轍ヲ覆ムヘカラス宜シク道義ニ基ク關係ヲ樹
立シテ永遠ノ平和ヲ確保シ得ヒ新カルニ變ノ起ラサルコトニ努ムル
ヲ要ス 日本ノ行動ハ此ノ東洋永遠ノ平和ヲ確保スル大目的ヲ達成
スル迄ハ斷シテ停止スルモノニ非ス 支那國人力徹底的ニ日本ノ眞
意ヲ瞭解スル迄ハ何處迄モ之ヲ繼續スルコト豫メ斷言スル所ナリ
殊ニ彼ノ共產黨ニ至ツテハ世界ノ平和ヲ擾亂スル人々ノ敵ニシテ其
ノ存在ヲ許スヘカラス吾人ハ最少限度ヲ先ツ東洋ノ天地ヨリ之ヲ驅
逐セサルヘカラス 彼レ思想ヲ以テ來レハ吾レ思想ヲ以テ之ニ對ス
ヘシ 而モ現在ノ狀勢ニテハ武力ヲ以テ之ヲ排撃セサレハ不可ナル
程度ニアリ 日本ハ共產主義ノ排撃ノタメニハ武力ニ訴ヘテモ飽ク
迄之ヲヤリ遂ケル方針ナリ 蔣介石ノ如キハ恐ラク心中、日本ノ眞
意ハ諒解シ居ルナランモ現在容共政策ヲ採リ居ル以上、日本國民ハ
彼ヲ信スルコト能ハス共產黨ト手ヲ切ラサル限り之ヲ許シ難キ次第
ナリ

尙日支兩國ハ其ノ相互ノ經濟發展ノタメ緊密ナル提携ヲ必要トスル
 辭ニシテ兩國ガ右反共ト經濟提携ノ共同目標ニ向ツテ推進スルニハ
 茲ニ力強キ中央政府ノ樹立セラル、ヲ要ス是レカタメニ貴下ハ至寶
 任ヲ以テ之レニ當ラル、モノト予ハ確信シ其ノ成功ヲ期待スルト共
 ニ吾方ニ於テモ充分ナル援助ヲ與フヘキコト言フ迄モナシ要スルニ
 支那カ容共抗日ノ政策ヲ一擲シ新東亞建設ノタメ日本ト協力スルニ
 至ル様奮闘セラレタシ、中央政府樹立ニ伴フ具體的工作ニ關シテハ
 陸軍大臣、海軍大臣、其他關係各大臣ト委シク打合セラレ度シ、
 微力ナカラ中央政府樹立ニ付努力スヘシ尙之カ具體的工作ノ進行
 ノタメ關係各大臣ト面談ノ機會ヲアタヘラレルコト誠ニ感謝ニ堪ヘ
 ス、唯茲ニ御參考迄一ニ申述ヘタキ點アリ、自分ハサキニ高宗武ヲ
 貴國ニ遣ハシ自分ノ意見ヲ述フルト共ニ總理始メ貴國政府當局ノ御
 意見ヲ參取セシメタルヲ以テ貴國ノ御方針ハ大体諒解シ居ル所ナル
 カ第一、當時蔣介石カ毅然悔悟スレハ蔣ヲ相手トシテ和平ヲ實現ス
 ルモ不可ニアサルヘシトノ理想ナリシカ事今日ニ至リテハ右ハ殆ント
 見込ナルヘシ 第二ニ國民政府以外ノモノヲ聯合セシメ此ノ時局ヲ

擔當セシムヘシトノ意見モアリカカル事態トナラハ吾人モ之ニ加
シテ微力ヲ盡スヲ辭サルヘシト申述ヘ置キタルカ今日支那ノ情勢ヲ
見ルニ國民黨ヲ除外シテ其ノ他ノ勢力ヲ以テ時局ヲ收拾スルコトハ
極メテ困難ナリト思惟ス 第三ニ自分ハ蔣カ時局解決ノタメ下野ス
レハ共ニ下野シ外遊スレハ共ニ外遊スルモ可ナリト云フ氣持ナリシ
カ蔣ハ之ヲ拒絕シ却ツテ立腹シ居ル狀態ニテ最早ヤ自分一人責任ヲ
以テ起タサルヘカラサル弱目ニ陥リタリ

依ツテ自分ハ國民黨ヲ中心トシ之ニ各黨各派ヲ聯合セシメ容共抗日
政策ヲ抛擲セル國民政府ヲ作ルコト最モ適當ナリト思惟ス、蓋シ國
民政府ノ形態ヲ存スルコトハ又那國民ヲシテ日本ノ壓迫ノタメニ亡
ヒタリトノ念ヲ抱カシムルコトヲ避ケ重慶方面ヨリ多數ノ同志ヲ發
給スルタメ便利ナレハナリ元來國民黨ノ標榜スル三民主義ニ對シテ
ハサキニ高宗武ヲ派遣シタル際、日本側ニテハ其ノ共產主義トノ關
連性ヲ清算シ所謂新ラシキ三民主義ニ復活セサルヘカラストノ御意
見ナリシカ右ハ誠ニ尤モナル御意見ニテ元來孫文先生ノ三民主義ハ
共產主義トハ截然別個ノモノニシテ自分等ハ此後此ノ三民主義ノ眞

平、

汪、

意ヲ發揮スルタメ最大ノ努力ヲ拂フ心算ナリ、共產主義ト完全ニハナレタル三民主義ノ下ニ國民黨ノ更生ヲ圖リ之レト他ノ各黨各派ヲ聯合セシメ中央政府ヲ組織シ容共抗日ノ政策ヲ改ムル途ヲ籌スルコトハ賛成ナリ、彼ノ重慶政府ハ今日既ニ中央政府ト言ヒ得サルモノニシテ若シ從來ノ態度ヲ改メ來ルニ於テハ日本ノ仁愛ノ精神ヲ以テ之ヲ容ルルニ吝ナラサレトモ重慶政府カ今次事變ヲ發生セシメタル責任タケハ到底之ヲ免ルル事^能ハス即チ蔣介石ハ下野スルカ當然ナリ而シテ蔣カ下野シタル場合ト雖モ貴下ハ全責任ヲ以テ事ニ當リ重慶方面ノ者ヲ全部轉向セシムルニ一層ノ努力ヲ拂ハレンコトヲ望ム要スルニ此後全責任ヲ以テ此ノ事業達成ニ努メラレンコトヲ望ム

自分ハ事ヲアゲタル曉、重慶其他ノ方面ヨリ果シテ幾何ノ者ヲ集メ得ルヤ今斷言ヲ憚ルトコロナルガ少クモ國民黨ニ關スル限り黨ト共ニアルコト數十年ノ歴史ヲ有スルモノナルヲ以テ嘗ツテ國民黨既往ノ誤レル政策ヲ改メ東洋和平實現ノ一勢力タラシムル事ハ自分ノ責任ニ於テ之ヲ斷行スルノ決意ナル事ハ茲ニ明言シ得ル處ナリ

充分御奮闘ヲ望ム

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汪、
自分ハ曾テ三十四年前東京ニ留學シ居リ當時總理カ司法官時代公
ニセラレタル法律ニ關スル辯義ヲ讀ミタル事アリ、爾來敬慕ノ念ニ
堪ヘサリシカ圖ラス面談ノ機會ヲ得テ欣決ニ堪エス

文書ノ出所竝ニ成立ニ關スル證明書

自分、林 義 夫ハ外務省文書課長ノ職ニ居ル者ナル處、茲ニ添付セラレタル日本語ニ依ツテ書カレ六頁ヨリ成ル平沼首相汪會談要領ト題スル書類ハ日本政府（外務省）ノ保管ニ係ル公文書ノ正確ニシテ眞實ナル爲シナルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年三月十二日 於東京

林 義 夫

右署名捺印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同日於同所

立証人 浦 部 勝 馬